GENDER SYMMETRY, ANGER, AND THE CO-OCCURRENCE OF VIOLENCE

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Bachelor of Arts Sociology

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Arkadelphia, AR

2014

Submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate College of the
Oklahoma State University
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for
the Degree of
MASTER OF SCIENCE
May, 2016

GENDER SYMMETRY, ANGER, AND THE

CO-OCCURRENCE OF VIOLENCE

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I cannot express enough gratitude to my advisor, Dr. Kelley Sittner, for her guidance, assistance, and constant support. I could not have asked for a better advisor and friend to help me through this process.

I would also like to convey my thanks to the rest of my committee: Dr. Andrew Fullerton and Dr. Chad Malone. Their insights and suggestions pushed me to be a better researcher. This committee has truly made my time in the graduate program an enjoyable and rewarding experience.

Most importantly, I would never have achieved this without my family. Your love and unwavering belief in me is what kept me motivated through all the difficulties and trials that I faced throughout the years. There is no way I can express my gratitude and love for all you have done.

Lastly, I must extend my thanks to my mentor, Dr. David Caddell for your continual encouragement and interest in my success. Not only were you the first to encourage me to pursue a graduate degree, you also provided the tools I needed to succeed. I never would have made it without you.

Name: Devon Krey

Date of Degree: MAY, 2016

Title of Study: GENDER SYMMETRY, ANGER, AND THE CO-OCCURRENCE OF VIOLENCE

Major Field: SOCIOLOGY

Abstract:

The role that sex has in the context of intimate partner violence (IPV) has been inconclusive. By utilizing Johnson's typology of IPV through the lens of Agnew's General Strain Theory, the objectives of this thesis are to 1) examine the influence of sex on the etiology of violence, 2) examine the relationship between strain and the perpetration of violent actions, and 3) to examine the relationship when co-occurring violence (coercive control and external stressors) simultaneously occur and how it influences violent perpetrations. It is observed that males and females perpetrate violence at approximately the same rate and that anger is a common motivating factor for both. This lends support for the claim that there is little to no sex difference in the perpetration of IPV. Additionally, co-occurring violence appears to increase the rate of violent perpetration for both males and females, demonstrating that research should not treat the categories of Johnson's typology as orthogonal groups.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Intimate partner violence has been vehemently debated over the past several decades. There is a vast amount of research that has been conducted over the past 40 years that discusses various types of partner violence, the consequences of that violence, and the circumstances in which violence occurs (Straus 1983; 1994; Johnson 1994; Koch 2010). Despite the depth of literature on the topic, there is still much about intimate partner violence (IPV) that remains unknown. Two of the ongoing debates, and the foci of this piece, are whether IPV is a gendered phenomenon (Straus 1983; Johnson 1994; Hunnicutt 2009) and if various forms of violent situations co-occur. The particular topic of gendered violence has received a high degree of attention. Not only is parsing out the details important for the sake of furthering our comprehension of the topic, but correctly understanding the relationship between gender and IPV is paramount when creating and changing public policy, particularly when it comes to Batterer Intervention Programs. If the research is flawed and incorrect conclusions are drawn, serious harm could result if

individuals do not know how to properly approach, counsel, or intervene with couples in violent situations.

One of the main research questions follows the trend of current literature as to whether gender is an important component when understanding IPV. Although a longstanding assumption of partner violence is that violence is largely committed by men against women, this belief has not been conclusively supported. There is a large body of literature to support the theory of male-dominated violence (Johnson 2006; Koch 2010; Dickerson 2013). Yet, there is a second body of literature that counters such claims (Straus 1994; Straus and Ramirez 2007; Winstok and Straus 2011). To some extent, Johnson's (1994) typologies have shed some light on the topic, but it remains incomplete and in need of refinement. Rather than combining all forms of violence into one category, there is now a way to categorize and organize various types of violence as it is now believed that violence can arise for various reasons. By separating IPV into intimate terrorism, situational couple violence, and violent resistance, the nuanced and complex nature of IPV has been recognized and respected to a greater degree.

The direction of this thesis primarily follows the viewpoint of Straus that most forms of intimate partner violence, including intimate terrorism (violence that results from desires of control), is bidirectional (Straus and Ramirez 2007; Straus 2011; Winstok and Straus 2011). That is, when one partner acts out violently in attempts to control or manipulate their spouse, their spouse is also likely to be a perpetrator of violence due to their own desires for control. Situational couple violence, which is the result of emotional outbursts, is also believed to be a bidirectional phenomenon. This event occurs when a

buildup in tension or stress leads to a violent action. As a result, IPV is perpetrated by men and women equally. This will be analyzed via Agnew's General Strain Theory.

In the following section, the current literature on IPV is discussed, starting with how the earlier works perceived IPV in a holistic sense and how it has evolved into a more nuanced field using Johnson's typologies. The issue of patriarchy, particularly the idea of male-entitlement, and its role in the creation of these typologies is reviewed. Lastly this section concludes with a final discussion of the concept of gender symmetry/asymmetry and why it has been the topic of debate in the current literature of IPV.

LITERATURE REVIEW

When most people hear the term intimate partner violence, they envision situations of wife-battering, manipulation, psychological abuse, and serious physical injuries or even death. Although all of these consequences are indicative of certain subsections of abuse, most consequences are much less severe. By no means should this rationale be used to excuse or ignore severe forms of violence and the resulting consequences. However, the fact that most partner violence is minor in both action and consequence is important to keep such topics in context. Given this understanding, according to the U.S. Department of Justice that approximately 968,000 cases of non-fatal domestic violence were perpetrated by an intimate partner in 2003-2012, which accounted for 15 percent[1] of all non-fatal violence during that time (Fox and Zawitz, 2007). For non-fatal domestic violence, violence by an intimate partner made up the

[1] The other 85 percent includes the following: 4% by immediate family members, 2% by other relatives, 32% by well known or casual acquaintances, and 38% by strangers. For the remaining 9%, the relationship of the offender to the victim was unknown or undocumented.

largest category. Subsequently, females also accounted for more than 80 percent of the victimizations (Fox and Zawitz, 2007). Among females, approximately one in three murder victims were the direct result of violence by an intimate partner. (Truman and Morgan 2014). These statistics shed light on the fact that, even if the literature is uncertain as to how gender influences the perpetration of violence, females suffer the worst consequences of violence.

The physical consequences of violence by an intimate partner can be tragic in their own right. Yet physical injury is only one of several consequences that can transpire in violent relationships. A growing body of research has looked beyond physical injury to consider the possible psychological trauma that can result from such relationships. Some survivors of intimate partner violence have exhibited higher rates of psychological harm and self-defeating behaviors such as depression and suicidal ideation (Burnam et al. 1988; Frank, Turner, and Stewart 1980), substance use (Kilpatrick, Acierno, Resnick, Saunders, and Best 1997), and PTSD (Drumm, Popescu, and Riggs 2009). This research has shed light on the fact that, not only is IPV a complex topic, but the consequences of such violence are also complex.

Intimate partner violence (IPV) has proven to be a vast and complex field to research. Conflicting results from prior research have led to inadequate, inconsistent, or completely absent typologies to guide researchers in understanding the causes and consequences of IPV (Johnson 1995). Due to the lack of a proper operationalization, many studies have had conflicting results. These incongruent results were due to the fact that IPV was measured holistically by the number of times an individual used violence against a spouse.

Because of inconsistent results, two major groups emerged with competing theories and findings – family structure researchers and feminist researchers. Feminist scholars, pulling from various gender theories, argue that violence is the result of patriarchal values and feelings of ownership over one's spouse (Johnson 1995; Lawson 2012). In a patriarchal society, men are higher in the social hierarchy as being "privileged," while females are expected to take on subservient roles (Dickerson, 2013). This overarching idea of male "privilege," whether intentional or not, makes IPV unidirectional, that is largely male perpetrated. Within this paradigm, violence can occur in several instances when masculine values are challenged or expectations of entitlement are not met. Consequently, violence can occur in situations where men believe that it is their inherent right to treat their spouses as they deem appropriate since they view their spouses as their property (Johnson 1995). Additionally, violence can occur when wives resist the concept of male entitlement and ownership, thus threatening their masculine values (Johnson 1995; Lawson 2012). Violence that is the result of patriarchal values and these conceptions of ownership is theorized to be more severe in its consequences, likely resulting in more serious injury, greater psychological trauma, and greater rates of hospitalization.

However, there were also several works that demonstrated IPV to be perpetrated equally among males and females, thereby negating the influence of gender (Anderson 2002; Dutton and Nicholls 2005; Straus 2007; Winstok 2007; Winstok and Straus 2011). These works support the idea that violence is a naturally occurring event that takes place in a relationship when the situation becomes emotional. How these emotions are enacted can take several forms from yelling and shouting to severe beatings and psychological

abuse. However, men and women both experience strain and stress which could lead to depression and violence (Winstok and Straus 2014). If the cause of violence is a direct result of a life stressor or several life stressors, then violence should occur equally between males and females. Due to the normality of violence occurring in a relationship, it is logical to assume that most violence is minor and that such violence does not have severe deleterious impacts beyond a degree of marital strain.

Given the two theoretical viewpoints, it is appropriate to question how both groups found empirical support for their arguments when they appear to be at odds. Where family structure theorists typically used generalizable data from national surveys to measure partner violence, feminist theorists were using victimization data from record datasets, each of which taps into two different demographics (Johnson 1995). The former is a better measure of violence that occurs naturally due to strain and stress in a relationship as it is the most commonly occurring type of violence; the latter is a measure of abuse that is based on concepts of patriarchy and male dominance as this form of violence is more likely to result in injury or official intervention. Some of these inconsistencies were explained when Johnson (1995; 2005; 2014) created different typologies for IPV, which shed light on the conflicting results. Johnson called these two typologies intimate terrorism and situational couple violence.

IPV Typologies

The construction of these typologies stems from the obvious schism that was forming between family structure researchers and feminist scholars. Given the degree of empirical support that both sides were receiving, it was difficult to conceive that one view was entirely incorrect. Believing that IPV was a more nuanced topic that could not

be fully explained by one theoretical viewpoint, Johnson (1995) analyzed the differences between family structure theorists and feminist scholars and concluded that the two camps were analyzing two separate phenomena. As previously stated, family structure theorists typically used large datasets that could generalize to the population while feminists used record data on victimization from hospitals, shelters, and police records. This led Johnson to believe that violence could be separated into two categories. The first is intimate terrorism (Johnson 2004), which was originally termed patriarchal terrorism (Johnson 1995). This is the form of violence that results from patriarchal values, feelings of male entitlement, and societal constructions of masculinity (Johnson 1995). Because such events are associated with increased rates of injury and heightened feelings of fear, victims of this form of IPV are overrepresented in shelters, hospitalization records, and police records, which are the sources of data used in most of the early feminist works.

The second category is situational couple violence which almost every couple experiences in their relationship. Being the most common form of IPV, situational couple violence is typically the result of a conflict that has escalated into a minor, violent confrontation (Johnson 1995). The cause of this type of violence has more to do with external locus of control such as the loss of property or stress from a difficult work environment. This form of violence is thought to be oversampled in large, generalizable datasets as it is based on escalating violence that takes place from some type of strain, which is what family structure theorists were tapping into. Before delving too deeply into the current literature on these typologies, it is important to first understand how they have evolved over time.

Intimate terrorism

In his original article on the typologies for IPV, Johnson (1995) initially termed intimate terrorism as patriarchal terrorism. Although patriarchal terrorism was used in his original article (Johnson 1995) as it made theoretical sense in feminist theory, Johnson later changed patriarchal terrorism to intimate terrorism (Johnson 1998). The theoretical rationale for this change was due to the fact that females can also commit intimate terrorism, even though they are much less likely to do so compared to males according to Johnson (1995). Having a theory based in patriarchal values and masculinity but committed by a small portion of females resulted in several theoretical issues. In order for the original definition to be appropriate, the act of intimate terrorism had to be committed solely by men. Since this claim is not empirically supported, substituting patriarchy for another term was necessary. Despite the change in semantics, the application of the theory within the realm of patriarchy has not been altered. As many theorists have come to understand intimate terrorism as the process of controlling one's partner, an important component within the definition is the inclusion of patriarchy and masculinity (Johnson 1999, 2006; Drumm, Popescu, and Riggs, 2009; Zweig, Yahner, Dank, and Lachman 2014). Even though the title has changed, the application largely remains the same.

Causes of intimate terrorism

Unfortunately, explaining violence through the lens of patriarchy is inherently a complex issue. There can be several salient factors that motivate an individual to abuse their spouse. Some of these factors fit neatly into the category of intimate terrorism, where other factors cannot yet be explained with the current typology. The need for control particularly was important in understanding violent actions (Weldon and Gilchrist

2012). Believing that men are the "master" simply because they are male has been used as justification for violence. Such evidence would suggest that chauvinistic men commit violence to restore the 'natural order of things,' to ensure that women fulfil their gender roles and that men remain in power. Research has supported the view that some men do view women as objects and that they are there to "serve and satisfy men" (Weldon and Gilchrist 2012:767). Rather than being a direct correlate of violence, seeing women as objects is believed to be an aspect of the greater, overarching category of needing to control one's spouse. Although viewing women as objects is believed to be associated with an increase in violence, this objectification should take place within the larger context of the need for control. Objectification is seen as a very serious category. To understand the gravity of this category, men who view women as objects are more likely to commit intimate partner violence when in a relationship; outside of an intimate relationship, men who view women as objects draw on feelings of entitlement, which draws on the same logic that is used by rapists (Weldon and Gilchrist 2012).

Although there are several reasons why violence can occur in a relationship, it is believed that control is one of the salient factors (Johnson 2004; Weldon and Gilchrist 2012). Yet, simply making the claim that the need for control leads to violence would be an oversimplification of what is actually taking place in violent relationships. In a qualitative study of perpetrators, the authors found that anger was another important component of causing violence (Whiting, Parker, and Houghtaling 2014). Being a study of male perpetrators, it is unknown if females are influenced by anger in the same way as males, or if anger is even a significant predictor for female perpetrated violence. If values of patriarchy are the primary factors in understanding intimate terrorism which causes an

increased need for control, there should be little to no influence of anger within the scope of intimate terrorism. However, if anger is a factor in explaining intimate terrorism and intimate terrorism is not a gendered event, anger then should be a correlate for both males and females. It is also important to note that anger was deemed an important component in male perpetrated violence, yet no claims were made about what caused the anger in the first place (Whiting, Parker, and Houghtaling 2014). Thus, this may only be a predictor of abuse for those who are naturally angry, or individuals could experience events that make them feel anger as a mediating factor that subsequently causes abuse.

Situational couples violence

The second typology that Johnson (1995) discusses is situational couple violence. This form of violence is typically less serious and occurs from natural conflicts that happen to escalate into violent behavior (Johnson 1995). Such violence is typically yelling, shoving, or some other minor action. It is important to note that, although situational couple violence is typically mild in its manifestation, it can also become very severe such as kicking, throwing objects, or threatening with an object such as a knife. Originally, situational couple violence was claimed by Johnson (1995) to be a non-gendered form of violence as it occurred from emotional outbursts. Therefore, a generally non-violent couple may experience a difficult event (such as a loss of a job), causing a conflict in their relationship. As emotions rise in such conflicts, violence can occur as a result of the sudden strain. However, this form of violence is not rooted in control, manipulation, or desire to increase power over one's partner. Since values of patriarchy and masculinity are absent, violence as a result of strain should be equally perpetrated between males and females.

Similar to intimate terrorism, the role of gender in situational couple violence is currently a topic of debate, although, this debate is much more recent as many early works assumed situational couple violence to be equally perpetrated based on its theoretical rationale (Johnson 1995; Fry et al. 2006, Brownridge 2010). The central argument that is backing an asymmetrical theory of abuse is the difference in the individual's perception of violence and the physical consequences of violence (Johnson 2014). These arguments revolve around the perception of violent acts such that a man who is hit or slapped by a female would likely interpret the act as a manifestation of her feelings of anger or frustration. However, a woman who is hit or slapped by a man is more likely to experience a greater degree of fear or intimidation and is also more likely to sustain injury as a result of the differences in strength (Johnson 2014). Thus, the social definition of the same action is interpreted differently depending on who is committing the violent act and who is the victim of that act. Yet, this remains to be a convoluted topic as some studies of couples planning on marrying have found that "[m]ore women than men had been physically violent towards their partners" (Dutton 2005:693), which is directly contradicting Johnson's theory.

Since the creation of Johnson's typology, much of the research has focused on intimate terrorism and situational couple violence as categorically different phenomena (Frye et al. 2006; Brownridge 2010; Leone 2011; Leone, Lape, and Xu 2013). However, considering the context of violence within this typology, it makes theoretical sense that intimate terrorism and situational couple violence can co-occur. Such an example could be a couple that has an intimate terrorist coercively controlling his or her partner while simultaneously receiving outside pressure that causes strain on their relationship, such as

a loss of a job or financial strain. Yet, the co-occurrence of these categories has not been studied, which is a substantial limitation in the understanding of IPV.

Violent resistance

Johnson has also created a third category in his typology that is not discussed nearly as much as the prior two categories. This third category is called violent resistance (Johnson, 2005), which is said to occur when a spouse, typically the female partner, retaliates to the oppression of intimate terrorism. Although this appears to be self-defense from a theoretical standpoint, Johnson explicitly avoided the term since "[v]iolent resistance to intimate terrorism does not necessarily meet the legal definition of self-defense" (Johnson 2005:1127). An individual could use violent force in retaliation of their partner's attempt to control or manipulate them in a non-violent way. Although this perhaps provides an interesting discussion in terms of policy and what should fall under the category of self-defense, much of the work on violent resistance is theoretically based with little empirical evidence, largely due to the lack of reliable measurements. Due to this limitation, this category in Johnson's typology will not be incorporated into this thesis.

The Debate on Gender Symmetry

One of the major questions within the current literature is the role of gender in intimate partner violence. Throughout the discussion so far, the role of gender has been largely unknown. There is a substantial amount of research arguing that intimate terrorism is largely male perpetrated and must be analyzed through the lens of gender (Johnson 1995; Brown 2014; Zweig, Yahner, Dank and Lachman 2014; Johnson 2015).

This type of research largely comes from feminist scholars arguing that a majority of male violence is intended to produce fear and, when women must resort to the use of violence, it is to defend themselves from abusive partners rather than being perpetrators of violence (Dutton 2005).

Straus (2014), a leading researcher in family violence who has developed a widely used measure of violence that has been applied to IPV, has addressed several shortcomings with Johnson's typologies; he has continually argued that intimate partner violence is largely a bidirectional phenomenon and purports that Johnson's intimate terrorism is actually committed equally between men and women (Straus, 2006; 2007; 2009; 2011; 2012; 2015; Sabina and Straus 2008; Straus and Ramirez 2009; Winstok and Straus 2011). The schism in the literature begs the question as to what is causing this division. One possible explanation from Johnson (1995) discussed the issues with improper operationalization of intimate partner violence as previously discussed. Another possible explanation has been proposed. The division is due to the theoretical ideology of the researcher, and it is actually this commitment to particular theories that is skewing the results (Straus 2012). Interestingly, several other lead researchers in intimate partner violence have also made the claim that the truth is being obscured by one's dedication to their theoretical paradigm (Dutton 2005; Archer 2000) Rather than allowing the data to demonstrate trends, and then using those trends to generate more accurate theories, it has been suggested that some researchers are so strongly committed to their theoretical paradigm that any results that contradict their theory must be incorrect or the method of analyzing the data must be incorrect. This very argument of measurement issues has been used on several occasions against the Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS) when the application

of the scale did not support gendered violence (Dutton 2005). In defense of his CTS, Straus argues for the validity of his scale and that actual societal trends do show gender symmetry in regards to IPV:

> The [Conflict Tactics Scale] in many nations have found that about the same percent of women and men physically assault a partner. This contradicts the patriarchy theory that partner violence is almost exclusively committed by men as a means to dominate women. The commitment to that theory is so strong that the approximately equal percent of women and men who physically assault a partner is taken as *prima facie* evidence that the CTS is not valid (Straus 2012:550 emphasis in original).

Consequently, Straus is not alone in believing that IPV is committed equally between men and women. In fact, there are over 200 studies (Straus 2007) that have found equal perpetration between men and women and that violent relationships are usually bidirectional (Straus and Gelles 1990; Archer 2000; Fiebert 2004; Straus 2012). That is, most violent relationships are characterized by both partners committing violence. Having violence committed only by one partner is very uncommon; even in instances of one-way violence, males still show the same rate of offending as females (Straus and Gozjolko 2014). If violence is largely bidirectional and is not gendered, there are important implications to consider. First, much of family violence research is used and geared towards influencing public policy (Johnson 2005; Cattaneo and DeLoveh 2008; Straus 2009). Second, the goal of research should be driven by the desire to understand social phenomena as it is, rather than how one believes it should be based on their ideological bent. As a result, if poor research is taking place in such a critical area, not

only is the truth being muddled, but individuals could be harmed from flawed policy and information. Unfortunately, it is still unclear as to which perspective is correct. Straus is a leading researcher in family violence and has brought a great deal of criticism to Johnson's typology and his theoretical perspectives. However, despite these criticisms, the typologies are still very influential in the current literature and within feminist perspectives.

CHAPTER II

THEORY

Although there is a considerable amount of knowledge on the field of intimate partner violence, it remains largely atheoretical as most theories fall short when attempting to explain how individuals bring themselves to harm those they care about (McClellan and Killeen 2000). Therefore, establishing a theoretical frame to understand IPV would provide much needed structure. To date, a single theory of IPV has not been advanced and, of those studies that do incorporate theory, a variety of theories have been applied. In the following section, I discuss the current theoretical and empirical shortcomings for each theory that has previously been used to explain intimate partner violence. I then propose General Strain Theory (GST) as an alternative choice and conclude with some suggestions on how GST can be incorporated into the topic of intimate partner violence. The chapter closes with theoretically derived hypotheses.

CURRENT APPLICATIONS OF THEORY IN IPV RESEARCH

Feminist Perspective/Gender Theories

Gender (or feminist) theory is one of the most prevalent theories in the field of intimate partner violence. This theory purports that violence is committed as a result of

the patriarchal values and the exercise of male dominance over one's wife (Dobash and Dobash 1979; Kurz 1989; Lawson 2012). This view of women as property, or being owned by the man, creates an environment that is conducive to abuse. More importantly, feminist theory argues that violence is not due to a pathology or having a prior history of abuse (Kurz 1989). Rather, abuse is inherent in the power differential between the gender roles, and the cultural acceptance of husbands exercising control over their wives. This theoretical viewpoint claims that violence cannot be understood without gender being the central factor in the research (Lawson 2012). This feminist perspective also claims that intimate terrorism is largely male perpetrated, and obtaining a better understanding of why such violence occurs is paramount in protecting women and preventing their abuse.

Although it would appear that a feminist perspective would explain intimate partner violence well, it has been argued that this view does not explain the categories of situational couple violence, and more recently it has been argued that it does not explain intimate terrorism in Johnson's typologies (Straus 2011). As noted earlier, according to Johnson (1995) situational couples violence is the result of an emotional outburst that escalates to the use of violence, whereas patriarchal terrorism (now intimate terrorism) stems from coercively controlling one's partner. Given these criteria, the feminist viewpoint is unable to explain this phenomenon as women commit both forms of violence at similar rates compared to men. Although the consequences of such actions are different that require greater amounts of concern and resources to aid female victims, the actual perpetration of violence does not differ (Straus 2011). This is not to say that gender theories are not important within the realm of intimate partner violence. The evidence simply suggests that these theories do not fit within the current typology.

Social Disorganization and Attachment Theory

Despite the prevalence of theorists who argue for gender symmetry in violence, the degree of theory-based research is underwhelming. Part of the issue arises from the difficulty to simultaneously explain both intimate terrorism and situational couple violence using the same theoretical lens. Other issues stems from proper operationalization, such as the consequences of violence rather than the occurrence of violence. In terms of social disorganization theory, the severity of violence can adequately be explained. Browning (2002) demonstrated that female homicides by intimate partners increases as communities become more disorganized. However, this approach is inadequate when attempting to understand the role of gender as the gender of the perpetrator needs to be specified *a priori* when predicting homicide rates, which does not allow for any gender differences to emerge. Thus, the researcher assumes that men are the main offenders based on their theoretical rationale rather than determining this trend from the empirical results. More importantly, analyzing the community disorganization in order to predict the most severe forms of violence is a discussion of the consequences of violence rather than the perpetration of violence. Thus, males and females may have perpetrated violence equally, yet, the violence perpetrated by men is more likely to cause severe injury or death to their spouses (Straus 2011). Unfortunately, when measuring intimate partner violence at the community level, homicide is one of the most accurately reported criminal offenses. Given the fact that homicide rates are not a measure of the perpetration of violence but the consequences of violence, analyzing intimate partner violence at the community level through social disorganization theory

would be adequate for research based on the effects of violence, but not nearly as appropriate for this research that is attempting to understand why violence is perpetrated.

Another theoretical view that has been utilized to a degree is attachment theory. This theory has been quite useful within the topic of situational couples violence (McClellan and Killeen 2000), but is less applicable to intimate terrorism. Schneider and Brimhall (2014:368) explain how this theory applies to situational couple violence of emotional outbursts, "[I]f a person's attachment figure is perceived as unavailable or rejecting, the attachment system may become hyperactivated and attachment behaviors become heightened as the individual attempts to restore connections and reestablish a sense of personal safety." The situation just described is indicative of emotional outbursts that can escalate to various forms of violence that characterizes situational couple violence. However, the violence that stems from intimate terrorism may not meet these criteria. Intimate terrorism requires the need for control and the willingness to exercise violence in order to obtain or maintain that control. Attachment theory explains the response of the individual when their partner is withholding attention and/or affection. Yet, it fails to explain the aspects of controlling one's partner and being willing to use violence for that control, while maintaining normal marital roles throughout the process. Additionally, attachment theory does not explain when a partner utilizes violent behavior in attempts to gain control over a spouse as the attachment or relationship between two individuals may not have changed in terms of their availability.

Because the field of intimate partner violence is becoming more nuanced, it would be beneficial to have a theoretical viewpoint that could explain Johnson's typology as a whole. The theories that have been used so far have only been able to explain a

particular category or a specific context of intimate partner violence, rather than establishing a holistic viewpoint. Not only should the theory be able to explain both intimate terrorism and situational couple violence, but it should also explain the variation in males as well as females in both categories if the perpetration is truly gender neutral. To this end, I purport that Agnew's General Strain Theory should fill this gap.

GENERAL STRAIN THEORY

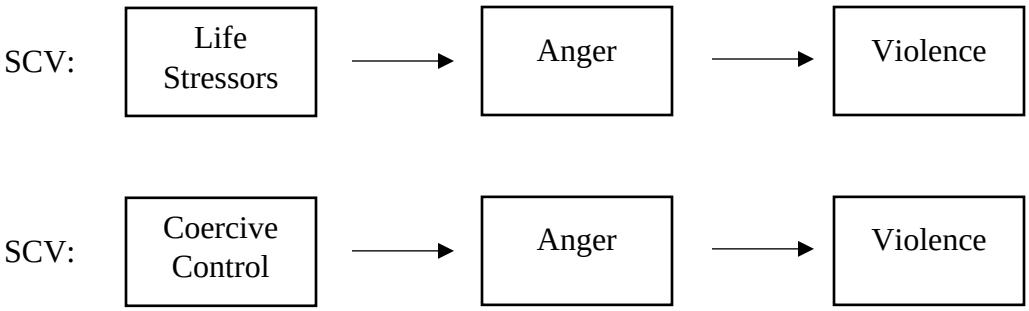
By employing GST, I believe that the nuances of both situational couple violence and intimate terrorism will be better explained compared to the previous theories that have been discussed. Agnew's theory claims that various strains (either the introduction of negative stimuli or the removal of positive stimuli) will result in "negative affect" that can cause an individual to engage in illegal activities (Agnew 1985). The negative affect can manifest in several states of emotional distress, such as anger, frustration and/or depression. The application of GST for situational couple violence is rather straightforward. As individuals are exposed to negative stimuli (such as work stress, marital/dating complications, or financial strain), they become increasingly frustrated and thereby become more vulnerable to emotional outbursts against their spouses. Because men and women both experience strain and stress, the effects of such negative stimuli should influence both parties in approximately equal ways. Thus, this form of violence is a means of coping with the strain and its accompanying negative affective state that the individuals are experiencing; consequently, when the strain is no longer a factor, the violent response subsides.

Unlike the other theories that have been discussed, GST also applies to intimate terrorism. However, the strain does not manifest in traditional stressors such as job

related stress as does in situational couples violence. Rather, this strain needs to be directly related with the concepts and motives of intimate terrorism. Because the goal of intimate terrorism is to have control and authority over one's partner, strain is introduced when the partner either attempts to resist the idea of ownership or attempts to exert their own power and authority over the offending spouse (bidirectional abuse). Thus, if an intimate terrorist cannot properly control their partner (a negative stimulus), this should lead to a negative affective state that causes frustration and anger, which would then lead to the perpetration of violence to cope with the strain. Similarly, this would lead to increased violence of the other spouse if they also share the characteristics of an intimate terrorist. As a result, the violence that ensues would be bidirectional. In order for this to be true, this form of strain needs to impact men and women in approximately equal ways. This would also lend support for the symmetry of violence for intimate partners.

Finally, GST would also be able to explain violent resistance, which is an understudied category of Johnson's typology. Although this will not be empirically tested in this thesis, it is theoretically sound. The inclusion of an intimate terrorist in a relationship will cause a large degree of strain and stress to the victim. As a partner attempts to use violence to gain control (acting as a negative stimulus), the victim would likely be experiencing negative affective states such as anger and frustration that could cause them to resist using violent measures. Although this is theoretically sound, future research should seek to verify this theory.

The graphical depiction represents how Agnew's GST will be utilized by having some form of stress causing a negative affecting state that results in a violent action:



HYPOTHESES

General Strain Theory posits that either form of IPV is the result of strain and resultant negative affective states. Given this theoretical viewpoint, the following hypotheses are proposed:

H_1: Strain is related to the expected number of different violent acts.

H_2: The relationship between strain and the number of violent acts is partially mediated by anger for both situational couple violence and intimate terrorism.

H_3: Instances where situational couple violence and intimate terrorism co-occur increases the expected number of violence acts for both males and females.

H_4: The relationship between strain and co-occurring violence is also partially mediated by anger.

CHAPTER III

DATA AND METHODS

METHODS

The hypotheses will be tested using data from the International Dating Violence Study, 2001-2006 (Straus). Although this was a sample of college students who may have higher rates of violence compared to that of the general population (Straus 2007), the validity of Johnson's typology has been approved for teenage dating couples (Zweig, Yahner, Dank, and Lachman 2014). The International Dating Violence Survey was conducted in 68 universities over the span of 32 nations. College students were given surveys on-site in the researcher's classes and other college courses with the instructor's permission. The other form of collection was web-based surveys of college students that were members of the same university. The sample contains 17,404 individuals. However, 3,252 were dropped from the sample as they were not in a dating relationship that lasted at least one month. The overall sample size after adjusting for those who were not dating at least one month is 14,252 college students.

MEASURES

Dependent Variables

The dependent variables are minor assault, severe assault, and total assault. These measured the prevalence of assault that occurred in the respondent's most recent relationship. Minor assault was assessed using the following questions on a 7-point scale where 7 is the highest occurrence of the offense: "Threw something at my partner that could hurt," Twisted my partner's arm or hair," Pushed or shoved my partner," "Grabbed my partner," and "Slapped my partner." Severe assault was composed of the following questions on the same 7-point scale: "Used a knife or gun on my partner," "Punched or hit my partner with something that could hurt," "Choked my partner," "Slammed my partner against a wall," "Beat up my partner," "Burned or scalded my partner on purpose," and "Kicked my partner. The total assault assessed all of the items from the minor and severe assault to obtain an overall estimation of violent actions. Prior research has shown these measures to be reliable where the overall Cronbach's Alpha score for assault is 0.86 (Straus 1996). The individual items were dummy coded where 0 means they have not committed that type of violent act and 1 means that they have committed that violent act at least once in their previous relationship. The dummy variables were summed within their respective categories (minor or severe violence) to make a count of the number of different violent actions perpetrated against one's partner.

Coercive Control

The dominance scale was broken into two sections: authority and restriction which consists of six total items taken from the dominance scales. Measures of authority

included questions such as “My partner needs to remember that I am in charge” and “I have final say about decisions,” and “I have to remind my partner who’s boss.” Measures of restriction include questions such as “I have a right to know everything my partner does,” “I have a right to be involved with anything my partner does,” and “I insist on knowing where partner is all the time.” Response categories were 1=Strongly Disagree, 2=Disagree, 3=Agree, and 4=Strongly Agree”. These items estimated intimate terrorism, which focuses on aspects of coercive control and manipulation[2]. Measures of control and manipulation were used to estimate intimate terrorism since Johnson defined it as the intent behind the violence rather than the consequences or severity of the violence. The measures in this sample had an alpha of 0.67.

Life Stressors

To estimate situational couple violence, items that measure relationship commitments, relationship distress, and external pressures were included. Such measures for relationship stress included “I would give up anything for partner” and “I wish my partner & I got along better.” Response categories were 1=Strongly Disagree, 2=Disagree, 3=Agree, and 4=Strongly Agree. Since this was a sample of college students, various life stressors may differ from the adult population. Using the pressures of a struggling relationship could serve to be a negative stimulus for this demographic. These measures had an alpha of 0.69.

[2] Coercive control is believed to estimate intimate terrorism as these measures determines who is in charge and who has a lack of autonomy. However, this scale may also be estimating values of religious conservatism. In such cases, the roles of superiority and subordination may not be coercive, but willingly enacted, which is a limitation of this measure.

External stress was measured using nine items that tapped into stressors that fall outside an individual's locus of control. Such measures are "I don't get along with people at work" and "I do not have enough money for daily needs." Response categories were 1=Strongly Disagree, 2=Disagree, 3=Agree, and 4=Strongly Agree. These measures had an alpha of 0.67. Throughout the results, the effects of relationship stress and external stress will be discussed in tandem at times. This joint effect will be referred to as "life stressors".

Anger towards Partner

To measure anger that an individual felt towards their partner during instances of emotional outbursts, the following items were used: "When I'm mad at my partner, I say what I think without thinking about the consequences," "I can calm myself down when I am upset with my partner," and "When I feel myself getting angry at my partner, I try to tell myself to calm down." Using GST, various life stressors should cause negative effective states (such as anger) which mediate violent responses. If the individual was able to manage their anger, violence should not occur as often. However, if violence did occur, it should have been preceded by feelings of anger that were unable to be controlled. As the previous sections, response categories were 1=Strongly Disagree, 2=Disagree, 3=Agree, and 4=Strongly Agree. These measures had an alpha of 0.63.

Control Variables

The remaining control variables were respondent's self-reported sex, depressive symptoms ranging from 0 (not depressed at all) to 8 (very depressed), educational attainment (measured in years), age, family income (measured in units of standard

deviations), relationship status (dating, engaged, married, or cohabitating), and whether the respondent had sexual relations with their partner. Depression was included as a control since it can serve as a negative affective state. However, depression has typically been associated with the victim rather than the perpetrator. For this thesis, statements regarding respondent's sex have been used in reference to the biological categorization of male and female as reported by the respondents.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

Table 1 presents the descriptive statistics for the sample. As expected, most respondents (71 percent) reported that there was no physical abuse in their relationship. When broken into their respective categories, 73 percent of respondents claimed that they never committed any type of minor abuse and approximately 90 percent claimed that they never committed severe types of violence against their partner. The average for coercive control for the sample was 12.48. Given that some literature has suggested that measures of coercive control should largely be perpetrated by males, an independent t-test was conducted. The results suggested that the average values for males and females were similar (P=.29), where females had a slightly higher average of 12.48 compared to males at 12.46. Independent t-tests were also conducted for the respondent's ability to manage one's anger. If anger management is a substantively important variable for understanding IPV, then identifying sex differences in the ability to control one's anger may assist in identifying sex differences in IPV. The results indicated that males had an average value of 20.48 while females have an average value of 19.56. This difference is statistically significant (P<.001); males had a slightly higher value of self-reported anger management.

TABLE 1 HERE

Results from the negative binomial regression (Table 2) indicated that both coercive control and life stressors were related to the number of different violent actions used against one's partner, supporting H_1. A standard deviation increase in coercive control was associated with an increase in the expected number of different violent acts by a factor of 1.31 for minor violence and a factor of 1.54 for severe violence, holding all else constant. Similarly, a standard deviation in relationship stress was associated with an increase in the expected number of different violent acts by a factor of 1.15 for minor violence and 1.25 for severe violence, holding all else constant. This trend continues with external stress where a standard deviation increase was associated with a factor change of 1.16 for minor violence and 1.24 for severe, holding other variables constant. These results suggested that, as these measures of strain increase, the number of different violent actions was also likely to increase.

TABLE 2 HERE

There was a significant difference between males and females committing different violent actions against their intimate partners for both minor violence ($P<.001$) and severe violence ($P<.001$). This suggested that females were committing violence more often and are using a greater number of different violent actions compared to their male counterparts. However, this difference may not be substantively important. The average discrete change for minor violence, shown in Table 3, indicated that being female increased the number of different violent actions by 0.148 on average. For severe violence (Table 4), females were expected to commit 0.057 more violent actions on average compared to males.

The effects of anger management on the number of different violent actions was significant for both minor violence (P <.001) and severe violence (P<.001). A standard deviation increase in anger management decreased the expected number of different violent actions by a factor of 0.69 or 31 percent for minor violence and a factor of 0.68 or 32 percent for severe violence, holding all other variables constant. How the sex differences changed for various levels of anger management are shown in Figure 1. The columns represent the type of violence and the type of category by Johnson's typology is represented in the rows. The y-axis is the expected number of different violent perpetrations and the x-axis shows anger management (AM). Although there were slight sex differences at the lowest values of anger management, the two points approximately converge at the average value of anger management (19.83), showing virtually no difference between the two groups for all categories. Even at two standard deviations below the mean, which is approximately 14 on the anger management scale, the differences between male and female scores was negligible. Using average discrete changes, being a female increase the number of severe violent actions on average by 0.026 for having average anger management scores, by 0.062 for being a standard deviation below the mean, and by 0.117 for two standard deviations below the mean. Conversely, higher levels of anger management lowers the effect of respondent's sex. Being a standard deviation above the mean for anger management is associated with females committing 0.013 more violent actions on average and 0.006 for two standard deviations below the mean. A similar trend for minor violence is seen where, on average, females commit .085 more violent actions for having average anger management scores.

This decreases to 0.047 for having a standard deviation above the mean for anger management, and decreases further to .026 for two standard deviations above the mean. Finally, being a standard deviation below the mean is associated with 0.17 more violent actions on average for being female and 0.293 for being two standard deviations below the mean. These results show that male and female respondents do not vastly differ unless they have low levels of anger management. When anger management is low, females tend to show more violent actions.

FIGURE 1 HERE

Figure 2 represents the effects of anger management for each category of Johnson's typology. It is clearly seen that, as anger management decreases, an individual was more likely to commit more violent actions for all categories of violence. To assess the mediating effects of anger management, average discrete changes (Long and Freese 2014) were conducted for life stressors and coercive control with and without anger management present as shown on Tables 3 and 4.

FIGURE 2 HERE

For severe violent actions, a standard deviation increase in relationship stress increased the number of different violent actions by 0.056 on average, while a standard deviation increase in external stress increased the number of different violent actions by 0.043. When anger management was included in the model, the expected number of violent actions decreased to 0.04 for relationship stress and 0.037 for external stress on average. Similarly, when anger management was taken out of the model, a standard deviation increase in coercive control is expected to increase the number of different

violent actions by 0.11 on average. However, this value was reduced to 0.086 when anger management was incorporated into the model.

TABLE 3 HERE

A similar trend was observed for minor violence. On average, a standard deviation increase in relationship stress increased the expected number of different violent actions by 0.118 and a standard deviation increase in external stress increased the expected number of different violent actions by 0.101 on average when anger management was left out of the model. However, these values change to 0.077 and 0.084 respectively when anger management was included. Finally, coercive control changed from 0.227 to 0.162.

TABLE 4 HERE

DEPRESSION

Following Agnew's GST of negative affective states, depression was included in both the minor and severe assault models. Although depression was statistically significant for severe assault (P<.001), it was nonsignificant for minor assault (P=.25). More importantly, there was little substantive significance of depression on the outcome of different violent perpetrations. Using average discrete changes, it was observed that a standard deviation increase in depression increased the expected number of severe violent actions by 0.019 on average. This means that being in the 84^{th} percentile of depression (a standard deviation above the mean) increased the number of different violent actions by approximately $1/50^{th}$ of an action.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This thesis addressed the current theoretical shortcomings of IPV using and expanding on Johnson's typology to better understand the etiology of violence. By using GST, it was established that strain is one of the possible causes of violent behavior in intimate relationships influencing males and females in approximately equal ways. These results are contrary to the current practices of court-ordered intervention programs that currently focus on female victimization and the underlying patriarchal causes of violence within the household.

There are several findings in the current study. The first is that coercive control and life stressors both contribute to the number of different violent actions used against one's spouse, supporting H_1. Although theorists such as Johnson (2009) claim that dominance and control are latent constructs of patriarchy, it is observed that coercive control predicts both male and female perpetrated violence and that the effects of sex on violent perpetrations is approximately equal, which is consistent with Straus' works (2007, 2011). If coercive control is not explained by patriarchy, what then is the underlying cause of such violent actions that can explain both male and female violence? Using Agnew's GST, it appears that males and females are both prone to committing violence when under substantial forms of stress that lead to states of anger. If the anger is

not properly controlled, these negative affective states can manifest in the form of violent actions. Using negative binomial regression, it is observed that anger management, as the negative affective state, is associated with a decrease in the expected number of different violent perpetrations. In every instance where anger management is removed from the model, the effects of coercive control and life stressors on the expected number of violent actions increases. This indicates a degree of mediation for anger management, supporting H_2. This finding in particular has important implications for future research. Up to this point, family structure theorists have consistently been atheoretical when explaining the deviant act of IPV (McClellan and Killeen 2000). By employing GST, a sound theoretical explanation can be established to guide future research of IPV that applies equally to males and females.

The results partially support the hypothesis that instances where situational couple violence and intimate terrorism co-occur increases the expected number of violence acts for both males and females. When coercive control and life stressors occur simultaneously, the number of violent perpetrations increases for both males and females. However, there is no interaction effect. Thus, the result of this co-occurring violence is simply additive rather than multiplicative. Similar to the individual items, the combination of coercive control and life stressors is mediated by anger management as seen in Figure 2. The additive nature of co-occurring violence is important to note. Despite the fact that co-occurring stress was not multiplicative in perpetration, there is still the possibility that it is multiplicative in its effects and should be more thoroughly tested on victimization data. Straus addressed the fact that "[a]lthough the accumulated empirical knowledge tends to support the idea of gender symmetry in perpetuation and

etiology, it is important to emphasize that most studies show that women suffer more injuries than men" (Straus 2014:92). Thus, co-occurring stress may influence men and women equally in terms of committing violence, but the magnitude of the resulting injuries remains unknown. Given the potentially important implications that co-occurring stress could have on injuries from violence, future research should consider testing this theory further. Yet, the fact remains that whether co-occurring violence has multiplicative effects in injury (particularly for a male perpetrator) is not currently known and beyond the scope of this thesis.

IMPLICATIONS

This thesis covers the topic of the etiology of violence against one's intimate partner, with a specific focus on Agnew's GST and the concept of co-occurring stress. The implementation of Johnson's typology has been incomplete in prior works as these studies simply tested the established categories of intimate terrorism and situational couple violence. However, the causes of violence against an intimate partner are numerous and complex. This thesis has contributed to the understanding of IPV by bringing to light that Johnson's categories are not orthogonal as life stressors influences everyone to an extent. As a result, there are two possible causes of intimate partner violence: the coercive control some people attempt to exercise over their partners, and the strain and stress they experience. In addition to the theoretical expansion of Johnson's typology, the implementation of Agnew's General Strain Theory provides a sound basis for Family Structure Theorists to study intimate partner violence. This contribution is not only important for understanding potential causes of violence, but also in validating the position of family structure theorists that their work is grounded in legitimate sociological

theory. Finally, public policy strives for a neutral basis to establish laws and punishments in the cases of their violations. GST provides the proper framework to approach policy-making in a neutral way, as males and females are both influenced by strain and stress and must learn to manage their anger. The following section will more thoroughly discuss policy implications as it applies to prevention programs for domestic violence charges.

A common alternative to imprisonment is court-ordered Batterer Intervention Programs (BIP). Many of these programs run on the Duluth Model (Jackson et al. 2003) that is based on the concept that patriarchal values will cause domestic violence. This type of system, by definition, disproportionately focuses on male perpetrators of violence and, in the cases when females do commit violence, it is many times dismissed as self-defense. Yet, the results of this thesis, and many other studies from family structure theorists that have been mentioned, suggest that most violence is not the result of patriarchal values and that there are few sex differences in violent perpetration. As a result, the Duluth Model is attempting to prevent patriarchal violence when most violence is caused by something else entirely. Not only does this system not address the real issue at hand, but it is also attempting to change a set of values that may or may not be present. Working with inefficient methods stifles beneficial changes at best; alternatively, poor methods could cause even more harm.

An alternative type of BIP is couples therapy. Jackson (2004:1-2) states that this is a less favorable form of prevention because "[t]his model views men and women as equal participants in creating disturbances in the relationship… it is widely criticized for inappropriately assigning the woman a share of the blame for the continuation of violence." However, to echo Straus (2012) and Dutton and Nicholls (2005), our

commitment to a theoretical paradigm should not be so fixed that we disregard the empirical evidence that is counter to the theory. The effectiveness of BIPs is still inconclusive (Jackson 2004). Yet, the current focus of most of these forms of intervention are largely ignoring anger management and female perpetrated violence, which are arguably important aspects to properly intervene in such situations. In the context of IPV, it is imperative to understand that the majority of violence is bidirectional, having both male and female perpetrators, and that female perpetrated violence is believed to be just as common as male perpetrated violence (Straus 2007). In addition, studies have shown that females are more likely to engage in escalatory violence than males (Straus 2011). BIP's should recognize that, in about half the cases, both individuals are perpetrators of violence. Focusing only on male perpetration is not likely to end the violent conduct as violence from the female partner can act as a trigger to male violence. Needing a more holistic approach to IPV, BIP's should recognize that either sex can initiate violence, and that the underlying causes could be the manifestation of various life stressors. Focusing on how to manage stress may not only lower violence as a direct result of controlling one's emotions, but it can also eliminate one of the stressors that cause violent outbursts for certain individuals. Once BIP's take a more holistic approach and begin to address the true issues within these relationships, these programs may begin to see a greater degree of success. Although it is true that females are less able to harm their male partner and they will likely suffer the worst consequences, the goal of BIPs should not be to end male perpetrated violence as it currently is in the Duluth Model. The goal should be to end violence in intimate relationships.

LIMITATIONS

There are several limitations in this study that are important to mention. Although one of the goals of this thesis was to establish the mediating role of anger management, mediation cannot be properly established in cross-sectional data. The results from the average discrete changes and the reduction in the stress coefficients suggest that mediation may be present, but the time order cannot be established with this data. Using the theoretical guidance of GST in that strain should lead to negative affective states, which manifests in deviant actions, the time order was assumed based on the structure of the theory. However, it cannot be determined if people become angry and abuse their partner, or naturally angry individuals are the ones who abuse their partners. Ideally, this model should be reanalyzed using longitudinal data and analyzed with structural equation modeling.

There is also a limitation with the method of testing Agnew's GST. According to this theory, there are several types of negative affective states (depression, anger, frustration, etc.). This thesis only tested anger and depression, which is far from a holistic test of Agnew's theory. A more robust test of Agnew's GST, testing the various components of negative affective states and how they relate to IPV, should provide a greater understanding compared to only testing two negative affective states.

Intimate terrorism was theorized to result in violence when a partner resists the offender's efforts to coercively control them. As this relates to GST, the blocked goal (resisting the partner's manipulation) should lead to negative affective states (anger) that results in deviance (violence). Without having paired data for the couples, there was no means to establish which individuals were blocking the goal and which were completely

subservient. Thus, it was assumed that the efforts to coercively control one's partner was resisted for intimate terrorists, causing the blocked goal that led to violent perpetration. However, assuming that this was every respondent's response to an intimate terrorist is unlikely and should be considered when interpreting the results.

Results from this study should be cautiously interpreted as the data was collected through convenience sampling of college courses that the researchers taught. This lack of randomization makes generalizing the findings improper and, instead, should be used as a guide to research rather than being a conclusion for this research topic.

CONCLUSION

Given the limitations of this study, future research should seek to build and verify these findings. In particular, having paired data to determine what couples are exercising coercive control, and what individuals are attempting to resist their partner's coercive actions, could be particularly interesting. Additionally, building on this foundation of GST could result in the discovery of interesting trends with other negative affective states for both perpetrators and victims.

When discussing the factors that cause violent perpetration, it is imperative to recognize that there are many facets that can lead to violent abuse. People commit violence for a variety of reasons. While some engage in violence due to overwhelming amounts of external strain, others commit violence from not being able to achieve certain goals, and some experience both simultaneously. Yet, simply experiencing these forms of strain does not guarantee the presence of violence as most individuals do not abuse their partners. The ability to manage one's anger is an important factor in determining whether

or not violence will be utilized. This factor applies to both males and females. Part of the contribution of this thesis is to show that males and females can, and typically do, have the same underlying reasons for committing violence against their partner. This is not to say that males never commit violence as a result of patriarchy. Patriarchy, however, is simply not what is typical in a majority of violent relationships. Rather, the focus should be on both individuals within the relationship and what types of strain and stress they are undergoing. As mentioned before, the similar causes of male and female perpetrated violence is not to be confused with the gendered consequences of violence. Female victims of violence suffer the worst physical, psychological, and emotional damage compared to men. Yet, in effort to assist these victims and possibly prevent further harm, the true cause of the violence must first be identified.

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Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for Negative Binomial Regression Models on the Expected Number of Committing Different Violence Against One's Partner

Variable Name	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Description
Dependent Variables					
Minor Violence	0.52	1.02	0	5	Number of different minor perpetrations
Severe Violence	0.15	0.56	0	7	Number of different severe perpetrations
Total Violence	0.67	1.43	0	12	Number of different perpetrations
Independent Variables					
Education	14.35	1.26	11	18	Respondent's education in years
Age	22.98	6.18	18	55	Respondent's age in years
Family Income	0.00	1.00	-3.5	11.25	Family income in standard deviations
Relationship					
Dating (Reference)	0.80	---	0	1	1=Dating, 0=Not Dating
Engaged	0.08	---	0	1	1=Engaged, 0=Not engaged
Married	0.07	---	0	1	1=Married, 0=Not married
Cohabitating	0.05	---	0	1	1=Cohabitating, 0=Not cohabitating
Intercourse	0.71	---	0	1	1=Has had sex with partner, 0=Has not had sex with partner
Female	0.71	---	0	1	1=Female, 0=Male
Depression	1.36	1.78	0	8	Respondent's level of depressive symptoms
R. Stress	10.87	3.03	5	20	Scale of how much stress is present in the relationship
Coercive Control	12.48	2.74	6	24	Scale of how much coercive control is used in the relationship
Anger Management	19.83	3.03	7	28	Scale of how well the respondent can control their anger
External Stress	16.95	3.66	9	33	Level of reported stress

Note. N=12,932 Data based on the International Dating Violence Survey 2001-2006

Table 2. Results of Negative Binomial Regressions on the Expected Number of Committing Different Acts of Violence

Minor Assault	β	Odds Ratio[π]	Std. Odds Ratio[Ŧ]	Severe Assault	β	Odds Ratio	Std. Odds Ratio
Model 1				**Model 2**			
Education	-0.05**	0.95	0.94	Education	-0.03	0.97	0.96
Age	-0.02***	0.98	0.89	Age	-0.01	0.99	0.94
Female	0.25***	1.28	---	Female	0.31***	1.36	---
Family Inc.	---	---	-0.01	Family Inc.	---	---	1.01
Engaged	0.20**	1.22	---	Engaged	0.15	1.16	---
Married	0.13	1.14	---	Married	0.20	1.22	---
Cohabit	0.27***	1.31	---	Cohabit	0.32*	1.38	---
Intercourse	0.39***	1.47	---	Intercourse	0.29***	1.34	---
Depression	0.01	1.01	1.02	Depression	0.06***	1.07	1.12
Coercive Control	0.10***	1.10	1.31	Coercive Control	0.16***	1.17	1.54
R. Stress	0.05***	1.05	1.15	R. Stress	0.07***	1.07	1.25
Anger Manage	-0.12***	0.88	0.69	Anger Manage	-0.13***	0.88	0.68
External Stress	0.04***	1.04	1.16	External Stress	0.06***	1.06	1.24
Constant	-0.25	---	---	Constant	-3.39***	---	---
-2LL	-11471.463	Pseduo R^2	0.06	-2LL	-5008.1216	Pseudo R^2	0.08

Note. *P<.05, **P<.01 ***P<.001, π Factor change for every unit increase in X.
Ŧ Factor change for every standard deviation increase in x.
Family Income was coded in units of standard deviations, making the β and the odds ratio inappropriate to report.

Table 3. Average Discrete Changes for Severe Violent Actions

Full Model	Change	P-Value	Partial Model	Change	P-Value
Education	-0.007	0.185	Education	-0.004	0.398
Depression	0.019	0.001	Depression	0.028	0.000
Age	-0.010	0.068	Age	-0.009	0.099
Female(B)	0.057	0.000	Female(B)	0.087	0.000
Family Inc.	-0.001	0.896	Family Inc.	0.000	0.932
Engaged(B)	0.025	0.240	Engaged(B)	0.025	0.221
Married(B)	0.034	0.190	Married(B)	0.030	0.234
Cohabit(B)	0.061	0.036	Cohabit(B)	0.086	0.009
Intercourse(B)	0.054	0.001	Intercourse(B)	0.068	0.000
Coercive Control	0.086	0.000	Coercive Control	0.110	0.000
R. Stress	0.040	0.000	R. Stress	0.056	0.000
Anger Manage	-0.050	0.000	Anger Manage	*(omitted)*	*(omitted)*
External Stress	0.037	0.000	External Stress	0.043	0.000

Binary variables (B) were calculated using +1 change while continuous variables were calculated using a standard deviation increase.

Table 4. Average Discrete Changes for Minor Violent Actions

Full Model	Change	P-Value	Partial Model	Change	P-Value
Education	-0.031	0.001	Education	-0.024	0.014
Depression	0.011	0.256	Depression	0.038	0.000
Age	-0.059	0.000	Age	-0.055	0.000
Female(B)	0.148	0.000	Female(B)	0.241	0.000
Family Inc.	-0.004	0.644	Family Inc.	0.002	0.869
Engaged(B)	0.113	0.007	Engaged(B)	0.101	0.015
Married(B)	0.075	0.103	Married(B)	0.060	0.182
Cohabit(B)	0.164	0.002	Cohabit(B)	0.214	0.000
Intercourse(B)	0.247	0.000	Intercourse(B)	0.297	0.000
Coercive Control	0.162	0.000	Coercive Control	0.227	0.000
R. Stress	0.077	0.000	R. Stress	0.118	0.000
Anger Manage	-0.163	0.000	Anger Manage	*(omitted)*	*(omitted)*
External Stress	0.084	0.000	External Stress	0.101	0.000

Binary variables (B) were calculated using +1 change while continuous variables were calculated using a standard deviation increase.

Figure 1

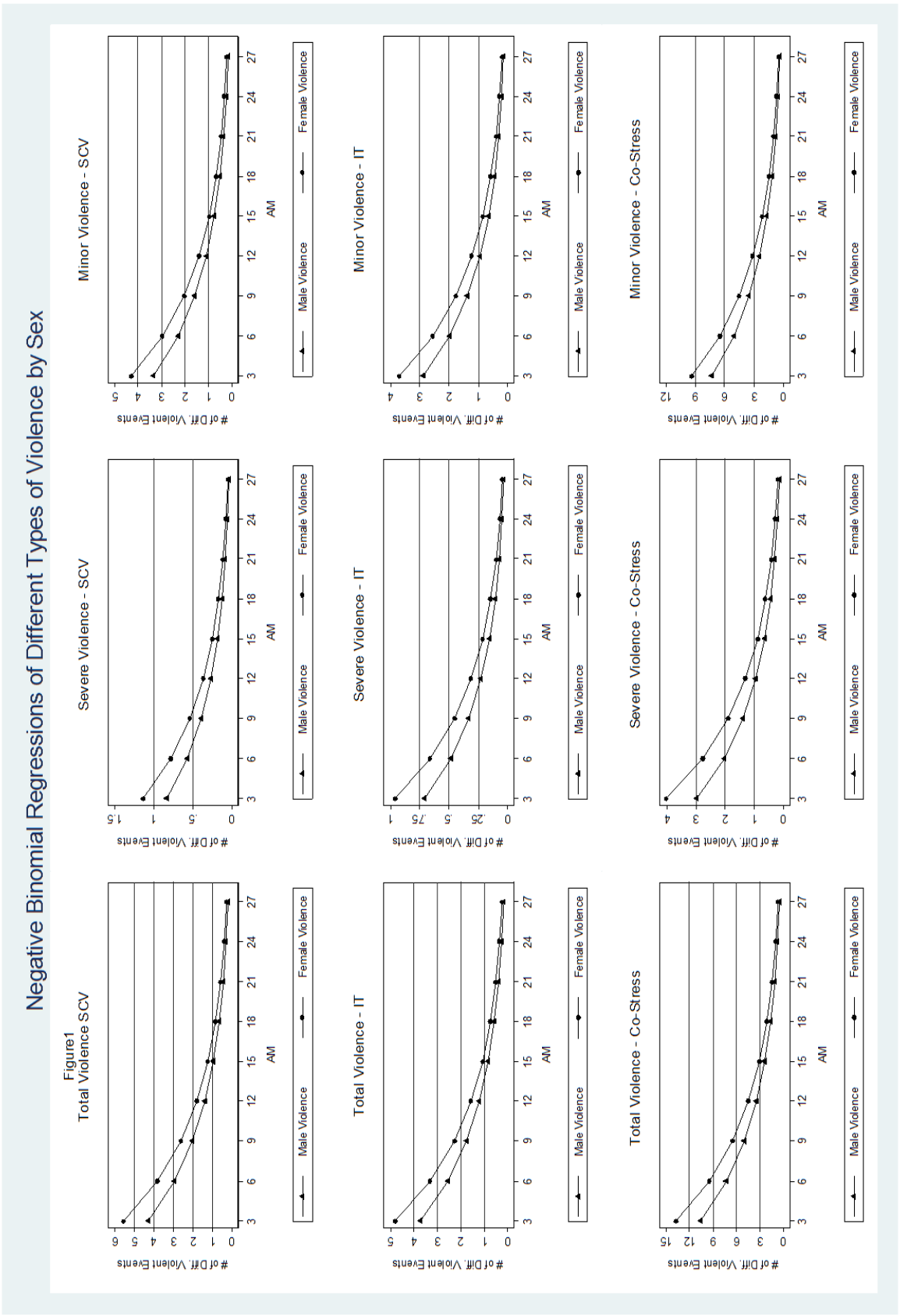
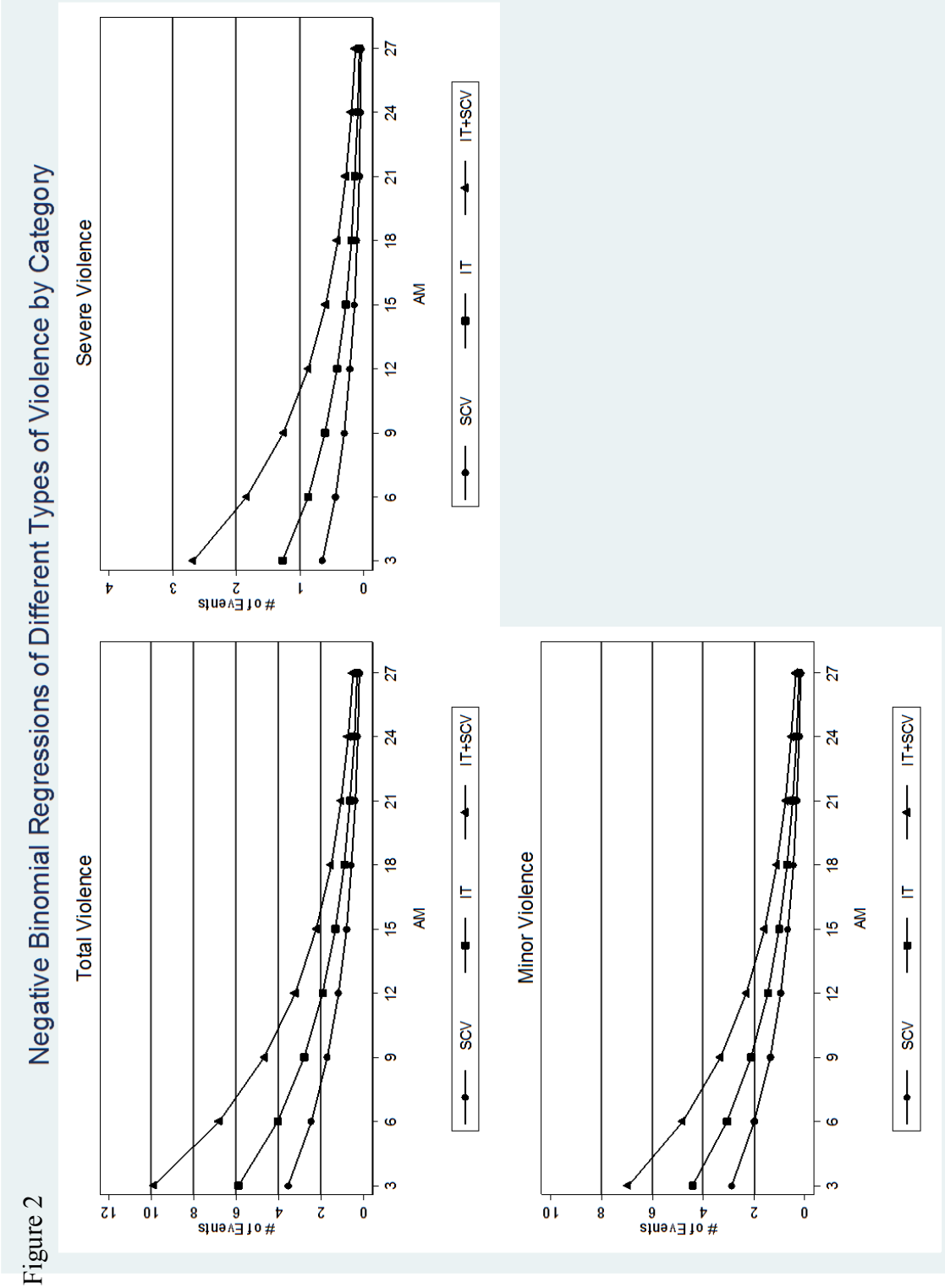


Figure1
Negative Binomial Regressions of Different Types of Violence by Sex
Total Violence SCV
Severe Violence - SCV
Minor Violence - SCV
Total Violence - IT
Severe Violence - IT
Minor Violence - IT
Total Violence - Co-Stress
Severe Violence - Co-Stress
Minor Violence - Co-Stress
# of Diff. Violent Events
AM
Male Violence
Female Violence

Figure 2 Negative Binomial Regressions of Different Types of Violence by Category



VITA

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